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TOMORROW

Imperialism and Revolt

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Editorials:

Storms Ahead for Banks

What Is the Constitution?

Labor's Chance

Culture In a Mill Village

FLOYD TILLERY

SEPTEMBER 14th

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Dictatorship?

H. N. BRAILSFORD



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Ex Cathedra

ITALY and the Soviets have signed a new non-aggression pact. Russia has invited Marshal Pilsudski to visit Moscow, and a covenant between Poland and the Kremlin is foreseen. France and Russia are more friendly than they have been since the war. Italy and France have composed their differences in their common desire to aid Austria against Nazi aggression. Thus Hitler is solidifying the whole of Europe against Germany. If Hitlerism is to be explained psychologically as being derived from the sense of national frustration which the young men of Germany felt when they saw their Fatherland encircled by foes, what will these young men do when they discover that Nazi gestures have alienated Germany's few remaining friends and made every Pilate the friend of every Herod in Europe?

THE Socialist League, which represents the left wing of the British Labor Party since the secession of the I.L.P., has issued a book in which men like Sir Stafford Cripps and G. D. H. Cole come fairly close to challenging the time-honored British parliamentary method of social change. Mr. Cole, who first gained his reputation as an exponent of guild socialism, has moved very far to the left. He writes: "We cannot put limits to the pace at which we will proceed when once we put our feet on the way, nor can we put limits to the dictatorial powers which under the stress of emergency our Socialist government may have to assume."

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER wants to change the Federal government in order that it may be prepared to "meet the revolutionary forces abroad throughout the world." Mr. Butler's changes contemplate: (1) a council of foreign relations consisting of the Secretary of State and committees of both houses; (2) the provision that cabinet members answer questions from the floor in both houses as in parliamentary government; (3) state conventions as the mandatory method of ratifying constitutional amendments; and (4) abolition of

the direct primary. Here the mountain labors and brings forth a mouse. What have these innovations to do with "revolutionary forces"?

WALTER DURANTY reports that a high Russian official recently stood in line to purchase a bar of soap from a Soviet store. The soap was a filthy mess manufactured from garbage. The official investigated and discovered that the proper ingredients had been withheld by officials for purposes of private gain. This doesn't prove anything in particular, but it ought to give pause to the romanticists who imagine that a new social system automatically changes human nature and makes all selfish people unselfish.

WHATEVER may be said about the Fascist tendencies of the N.R.A., one must give it credit for trying honestly to enforce the labor provisions of the law. The resignation of Mr. Cates as assistant to General Johnson proves that the Administration intends to play fair with labor; for Mr. Cates had in mind the use of the power of the N.R.A. to break up the present unions. The obvious fairness of the Administration toward the labor movement as now constituted, however, does not mean that the unions will be able to win very significant victories under the N.R.A.

THE party convention of the Nazis recently held in Nuremberg was more like a pageant than a convention. In that it was not dissimilar to our own Republican and Democratic conventions, except that the pageantry of the Hitlerites was probably more impressive than that of our own conventions. Hitler's prediction that the Nazis will be holding party conventions a thousand years from now was a rather extravagant prophecy, but demagogues live by extravagant utterance. Here too Hitler merely heightens the general tendencies of speech and action which politicians everywhere affect.

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Labor's Chances

If anything is yet certain about the chances of labor under the Recovery Act, it is this: that whatever gains are made for labor must be made *by* labor; that whatever strength the labor movement can develop to protect itself from further exploitation and the subtle attacks now being made upon it by its enemies, must come from an inner urge and not from paternalistic compulsions exerted by the government. Beyond this, we believe, little can be said with assurance at the present time. The N.R.A. is potential; it may mark the beginning of a new day for American labor, or it may mean increased impotence in the face of the enormously magnified power of the trade associations.

Under the terms of the Recovery Act itself, labor has the opportunity of a lifetime. But that opportunity is beclouded by an obvious confusion at Washington, a confusion that grows deeper instead of clearing up. Much depends upon interpretation and administration. If one looks at such leaders of the Roosevelt regime as Miss Perkins, Mr. Richberg, and Mr. Ickes, even though one can only wish that these public servants had a deeper-going economic philosophy, there is cause for hope that the most progressive of Washington's numerous views will prevail. But it is impossible to look at them as though they were the sole guardians of the Roosevelt effort. Roosevelt's policy always has been, and doubtless always will be, that of carrying water on both shoulders, of mobilizing both labor leaders and industrialists, both the champions of the poor and the apologists for the rich; the President has an infinite genius for making bankers and breadlines fraternize—for a while. We can be pardoned, we hope, for a lack of faith in this policy as a guarantee of a better economic order. When Professor W. F. Ogburn resigns because he feels consumers are being inadequately protected, and Miss Mary Van Kleeck also leaves her post as a protest against the Administration's attempt to block strikes, even the most moderate friends of labor may well be justified in their fears.

As might be expected, however, the leadership of the American Federation of Labor—whose energy in organizing the workers has been most commendable—either finds or professes to find, an almost complete satisfaction with the way in which things are going. Mr. Green chants a lilting song about the need of learning "to work together" and rests his efforts upon

the belief that "labor, capital, and the government must maintain the spirit of cooperation . . ." *The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, on the contrary, warns a trifle exaggeratedly that "the nation is viewing the peculiar spectacle of the N.R.A.—an act framed by labor men and friends of labor—being administered entirely by men whose past has been hostile to unions and the union philosophy."

Nothing that we have seen so cogently expresses our attitude toward the relations of labor with the Recovery Administration as the official statement recently issued by the Socialist Party, which reads in part:

If prepared to meet this new situation, labor has an exceptional opportunity to organize itself as a fighting force, not merely to wrest concessions from its "partners," the government and the bosses, but to capture the former and to destroy the latter as a class. . . .

Labor must also recognize grave dangers in the NIRA. While employers are expressly restrained from interfering with the organization of their employes, the only guarantee against interference by police, state troops, national guardsmen and the courts is the organized political power of the workers. Bitter experience has taught us that when the bosses control the government, the government oppresses the workers. . . .

The gravest danger of all is that the new industrial set-up may easily become the framework of a fascist state. If labor fails to rise to its opportunity, fascism will be the next step.

Significant is the fact that on Labor Day not more than 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 unemployed, according to the Administration's own claims, had been returned to work, leaving some 12,000,000 still unemployed. This achievement must be contrasted to earlier pledges that 6,000,000 would be re-employed by September. And even more significant is the fact that neither employment nor purchasing power has remotely approximated the rise in production. The technocrats were laughed off the stage, but every day that passes proves anew the essential soundness of their major contention, namely, that nothing less than the shortening of the working week to 28 hours, or thereabouts, can absorb all of the jobless millions; that before long in all probability even this number of working hours must be still further abbreviated. Every day likewise tends to demonstrate the correctness of the Socialists' belief that under capitalism the attainment of the neat but necessary balance between production and consumption, between work and leisure, is wholly improbable, if not actually impossible.

British Labor Plods Along

Numerous left-wing observers are telling us that England will go Fascist within the near future, perhaps within two years. Some right-wing commentators are equally confident that Britain is going red, emphasis being placed upon recent utterances of Sir Stafford Cripps, G. D. H. Cole, Harold J. Laski and other intellectuals. An overwhelming mass of evidence, however, fails to substantiate either of these contentions. Especially illuminating are the declarations of the British Trade Union Congress, which has just been holding its annual session at Brighton. This extremely powerful labor organization has gone on record in the most unqualified terms against dictatorship, of the right or of the left, and has staunchly re-affirmed its faith in representative democracy.

Within the ranks of the Labor Party there are scarcely any advocates of violent seizure of power and the establishment of a workers' dictatorship. What has been misrepresented as a plea for dictatorship was the assertion of various leaders of the party that if returned to office by a majority of the electorate, the party will not permit the House of Lords or even the King to frustrate the carrying out of the radical program of socialization authorized by the voters, and that if the opposition is sufficiently stubborn, the Labor Government will be compelled to resort to emergency action, possibly of a non-legal character, to execute the mandate received on election day. This point of view is brilliantly interpreted by Mr. Brailsford in his article "Dictatorship?" in this issue. No responsible leader of the Labor Party has expressed faith in non-parliamentary methods of securing power.

Persons holding this latter view are found in the Communist Party and in the Independent Labor Party, both of which are extremely weak in numbers and in influence. The Communist Party, after a dozen years of unprecedented economic depression, has about 5,000 members, and its leader, Harry Pollitt, polled so few votes in opposing Arthur Henderson in the recent by-election for the House of Commons that he forfeited the deposit candidates are required to post. The I. L. P. has been rendered still more impotent by the recent split in its ranks and the resignation of John Paton, its secretary. The last issue of its organ, *The New Leader* (London), prints a pathetic letter sent to the Communist International remonstrating with that body for its failure to reply to the I. L. P.'s communication of early July concerning the united front movement.

The evidence seems to us conclusive that British labor will not resort to violent revolution and dictatorship unless and until the economic situation becomes far more desperate than it is at present or is likely to be within the next few years. One reason fascism is so weak in England is that communism is so im-

potent. The rise of a strong Communist Party, with its threat of the imminent seizure of power, would undoubtedly be met with the emergence of a powerful Fascist movement.

American radicals are puzzled by the enthusiasm displayed at the Brighton conference for the N.R.A. A formal resolution reads: "The Congress appreciates the significance of the vigorous efforts now being made by President Roosevelt toward stimulation and regulation of industry by means of the National Industrial Recovery Act and allied legislation." Miss Margaret Bondfield, veteran labor leader, reported that in her recent visit to America she "found everywhere to my amazement that a real revolution of ideas was sweeping through the country."

A cataclysmic economic disaster of unprecedented magnitude would be required to drive British labor into the arms of communism, or to scare the British middle class into the embrace of fascism.

Private and Public Morality

The passing of Lord Grey on Wednesday offers a convenient text for an emphasis upon the tragic disparity between the conduct of an individual in a private capacity and that of the same individual when acting officially as a diplomat. The recognition is almost universal that Lord Grey was an English gentleman of the most appealing type: kindly, generous, tolerant, honest to the nth degree, and fervently devoted to the public good as he understood it. Yet his conduct as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain was, at critical moments, ethically indefensible and politically calamitous in consequences.

The assertion is often made that if the German Government had known positively in advance that England would enter the war on the side of the Allies it would have hesitated to precipitate that terrible conflict. More true and far more significant is the point of view that if Sir Edward Grey had refrained from making secret promises of support to France and Russia, Poincaré would have been less eager to support the Czar and his military officers in the fatal policy which led to the premature general mobilization of the Russian army, the final act which made war inevitable. Not only did Grey make commitments to France and Russia which actually constituted military alliances and carried with them moral obligation on England's part to enter the war against Germany, although these agreements were not legally binding, but he did not inform Parliament of the true nature of these negotiations. Indeed, his answers on the floor of the House on two occasions cannot be characterized, in the light of information since revealed, otherwise than as outright falsehoods.

Food for reflection is found in the further fact that Sir Edward's reputation as an upright and devoted public servant enormously increased the havoc wrought by his official prevarications. Private morality

on the part of public officials is a frail reed upon which to lean.

Radicals Climb Into Cuban Saddle

The De Céspedes government was too mild to satisfy the radical student and labor group in Cuba that has for the last four years, under the cruelties of Machado, been developing more and more revolutionary theories concerning a new order. When it seemed evident that the revolutionary government that succeeded Machado was interested only in a mild program of house cleaning, there was immediate protest on the part of those who were determined that Machado's overthrow should be a genuine revolution. De Céspedes, with three representatives of radical groups in his cabinet, made minor concessions along political lines. But good will and compromise were not enough; so with little show of force, and with seemingly little regret, the month-old government made way for the new and more fundamental revolution of September 5.

When Machado closed the University of Havana four years ago and drove underground the students and professors who were opposing his unbelievably cruel régime, he not only provoked those intellectuals to fight terror with terror, but he inadvertently started an underground university which has been leading students to secret investigation of new social and economic theories. Today they have come out into the open determined to apply these principles.

Whatever these principles may be, they are to be worked out in a new Constitutional Assembly, the calling of which is the most important item in the new Junta's manifesto. The hope for Cuba is that the army and all other elements will allow at an early meeting of this assembly a frank and fearless discussion of what the Junta calls "the creation of a new Cuba, built on the unshakeable foundation of right and the most modern conception of democracy."

The Junta and most other radical elements in Cuba have endeavored to keep free of communistic entanglements, realizing that such an affiliation would make their fight for socialization that much more difficult in view of the fact that citizens of the United States own 70 per cent of its sugar lands and \$1,500,000,000 of its wealth. The Junta declares that it will strictly respect the debts and obligations of the republic as well as existing treaties.

The real struggle in "the economic reconstruction of the nation" and "the complete revolution, based on the pure principles of national sovereignty," as the new Junta expresses it, will center around the Platt Amendment and the land question. What can be done about these, speaking realistically, seems to depend on what the United States government will permit. Cuba's first Constitutional Assembly, in 1901, drew up its constitution and was about to adjourn, when it was in-

formed that unless certain articles were added giving the United States a naval base, the right to intervention and other privileges, the United States army would continue in Cuba. The Platt Amendment, under such threats, was adopted. With the assurance of such protection, United States capital rushed into Cuba, and the island has become, with that protection and no effective protest from labor, the most reactionary representative of the capitalistic system in the world today. To eliminate the abuses of that system means laying the axe at the root of the tree. This will mean that American interests which have exploited Cuba unmercifully will plead with Washington for intervention. President Roosevelt has so far taken the attitude that Cuba must be accorded the right to settle her own problems in her own way. But the real test is to come. The foes of imperialism should be ready for a titanic struggle.

Austria Stands Firm

Nowhere has the brutality and ineptitude of the Hitler government in Germany borne more sour fruits than in the Austrian Republic. Only a few weeks ago trustworthy observers long familiar with Austrian conditions were reporting a consistent growth of Hitlerism in Austria. Every device that could be employed by the German and Austrian Nazis to seize power and to convert Austrian soil into German territory was resorted to. Throughout the summer there have been numerous cases of assassination; dire threats, and not empty ones, have been made by the murderous Nazis against every important member of the Austrian government. Notwithstanding its promises to the foreign governments through Mussolini, the German government has continued to hurl by radio across the Alps hatred and revilings against the person and policies of Chancellor Dollfuss, whose seizure of dictatorial power has been excused by the outside world in the relief of millions of people over the blocking of Hitler's ambition to form a fascist belt all the way across Europe from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean.

Even the Socialists of Austria, while recognizing the enormous danger that Dollfuss, who himself is something of a reactionary, might establish himself as a permanent conservative force, have felt obliged to cease their open struggles against him, allowing him to bear the odium of dictatorship rather than attempt to assume it themselves. As a matter of fact, their own strategy has exhibited not a few of the same weaknesses as those which characterized the Socialists of Germany. On the other hand, many of their leaders have maintained an attitude far more uncompromising and realistic, and there is as yet no completely convincing evidence that their present inactivity means their final extinction as a political, economic and cultural force.

Ironically enough, France and Great Britain and Italy, by permitting Austria partially to re-arm and thereby to strengthen herself against the menace of Hitlerism, have given Germany an excuse to press still further her own claims to a right to increase her army and her war materials. This inconsistency the former World War Allies can afford to ignore on the time-tried ground that circumstances alter cases. Meantime, there is unquestionably a tremendous amount of underground manipulation being conducted over the question of a possible union between Austria and Hungary. If such a union should take place, most of those who have been rejoicing up to now over Austria's escape from the Hitler insanity will be obliged to say farewell to their good cheer. In actual practice, as demonstrated for the last few years, there is little to choose between the brutality of fascism in Germany and the cruel governmental control in Hungary which is tantamount to fascism.

Carrying Water on Both Shoulders

The relative impotency of the forces of organized religion in the sphere of international diplomacy is produced in large part by their entanglement in the war system. Rapid strides have been taken in recent years in the direction of the unqualified excommunication of war by the churches, but a vast deal remains to be done before participation in any war will be regarded as sinful by all ecclesiastical institutions.

A vivid recent illustration of the policy of compromise is furnished by the resolutions adopted at the 1933 Conference of the Methodist Church in Great Britain. Concerning the war system, the Conference began bravely: "War is contrary to the spirit, teaching and purpose of our Lord. Our Lord met evil with good, hate with love, and injury with persistent readiness to forgive. He faced the world with unflinching and unyielding goodness. By example and precept He taught men to love their enemies." Certainly, the New Testament record leaves no room for doubt as to the validity of this interpretation. And the resolution continues: "The Christian Church is responsible for guarding, unfolding and expressing 'the mind that was in Christ.'"

But! Then follows a familiar series of "buts" that destroys much of the practical significance of the generalized indictment of war. The right of the conscientious objector to refuse to participate in war is upheld, but so is the right of the conscientious warrior to engage in battle. Here is the way the Conference equivocates: "The Methodist Church would recognize that, in present circumstances, both decisions may express true loyalty to personal spiritual conviction, and an earnest endeavor to do the will of God and serve the highest interests of mankind. In view of this recognition, the Methodist Church will uphold liberty of conscience and offer unceasing ministries to all her sons

and daughters, in whichever direction loyalty to inward conviction carries them."

All this evades the fundamental question involved. Loyalty to spiritual conviction has in the past caused devout Christians to support human slavery, political tyranny, the persecution of heretics with diabolic instruments of torture, the burning of witches, and a numberless host of other iniquities. If consistent, the Methodist Church in Great Britain should declare that, although murder and dueling and adultery are contrary to the mind of Christ, nevertheless, "the Methodist Church will uphold liberty of conscience and offer unceasing ministries to all" conscientious murderers, duelists, and adulterers.

If war is "contrary to the spirit, teaching and purpose of our Lord," and if the Church "is responsible for guarding, unfolding and expressing 'the mind that was in Christ,'" there is no moral basis whatever for blessing the action of an individual which is admittedly contrary to the spirit, teaching, and purpose of its Founder. The only procedure which possesses ethical validity is to choose one of two alternatives: either war under some circumstances is consistent with the mind of Christ, and therefore legitimate for a Christian; or the method of war is always contrary to the spirit, teaching and purpose of Jesus, and therefore participation in it or sanctioning of it is utterly indefensible for his followers. The churches should forever abandon the fatal practice of condoning in individual conduct that which they condemn in general declarations.

State Responsibility for Children

The degree to which the community has already assumed responsibility for the care of children in the United States is not generally realized. In a recent summary published in the *New York Times*, Dr. Verna Carley, Professor of Education, Fordham University Graduate School, points out that for a generation and a half in hundreds of communities children have been fed, within and without the school, clothed, transported, supplied with medical and dental care, given school supplies and furnished with shelter. Out of 386 representative high schools in 42 states, one-sixth supplied some type of aid to students prior to 1920. Food and clothing are now supplied to needy pupils by three-fourths of these schools. One-third offer scholarships to enable pupils to remain in school. Three-fifths of the schools furnish free text-books to all students. Four-fifths provide free nursing service; 72 per cent provide a school doctor; nearly seventenths have free dental clinics. In 1929 some 220,000 children were reported as being cared for in their own homes through the operation of mothers' aid laws, at a cost of more than 80 million dollars. Thus we move irresistibly toward socialized education, medicine, recreation and security.

Storms Ahead for Banks

THOSE who have assumed that recent legislation has solved the banking problem in the United States should read an article by H. Parker Willis, in the August 26th issue of *Financial Chronicle*. Dr. Willis is professor of banking at Columbia University, was formerly Secretary to the Federal Reserve Board and played an important part in the drafting of the Federal Reserve legislation. Here are some observations by this outstanding authority:

It is only when the terms of the new Act are studied in their relation to current financial conditions that we realize how, if its provisions be permitted to become fully operative, it may revolutionize the entire banking system of the United States. . . . Let us consider first a few very fundamental background facts in the case. Of these the outstanding is that the banks of the country, taken as an aggregate, have no capital and surplus; and, as things stand today, cannot get any by usual means. This state of things was freely admitted at the opening of the past spring, for it was then common knowledge among bank administrators that, if bank assets were to be "marked down" to true value, there would be left no equity for shareholders.

Professor Willis contends that if the terms of the new Banking Act with regard to the guarantee of deposits are strictly enforced, "the authorities will be obliged to exclude from the enjoyment of the guaranty scheme a large number of banks—certainly 75 to 80 per cent, if not more, of present organizations." This large percentage of weaker banks will be eligible for the guaranty benefit only on one of the three conditions: the governmental authorities must permit the "writing up" of assets; or weaker banks must be sponsored by stronger institutions; or the Government must lend the required capital to enable them to show "adequate" assets. After facing these alternatives, Professor Willis concludes:

Whichever course of action may be the one actually pursued, it is clear that the result must be, in one way or another, to make the larger and more solvent institutions responsible for the assets of all the banks in the country. . . . Put this in a nutshell and it means that the community is asked to abandon or preserve its "unit bank system." . . .

An editorial comment upon Professor Willis's article appears in the same issue. The editor refers to "what might be termed the complete rooting up of the country's banking system wrought by the Banking Act of 1933. . . . The alterations involve many of the fundamental conditions under which banking must be carried on, and are so radical that it is no exaggeration to term them revolutionary."

Even more ominous is the note sounded by the Committee for the Nation to Rebuild Prices and Purchasing

Power, composed of eminent citizens under the chairmanship of J. H. Rand, Jr. In its report made public on August 30, the Committee comments on the Treasury Department's statement that in the second week of August 3,120 banks, with deposits of \$2,498,000,000, were still closed or restricted. "The figures available at the Treasury," says the Committee, "do not include the 5,000 banks, with deposits of about \$5,000,000,000, closed during the depression but before March 5. These 5,000 banks include the great number of large and important banks closed during January and February. . . . The total of frozen deposits in commercial banks alone is around \$7,500,000,000 . . . nearly 20 percent of the deposit circulating medium of the country is frozen. Furthermore, to get a true perspective, we must take into consideration \$7,500,000,000 of deposits under restriction in savings banks as of May 31, not included in the Treasury's totals."

These figures help to explain why it has been absolutely imperative that the government enter the banking business directly, as we pointed out in an editorial in our last issue. And the evidence is clear that the Administration is resolved to go very much farther than it has yet traveled. In addressing the American Bankers Association on Tuesday, Jesse H. Jones, chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation said bluntly: "Banks must provide credit to accommodate agriculture, commerce and industry based upon a going country, otherwise the government will have to do so. There will be no other course. That was demonstrated last year when the Garner bill was passed by both houses of Congress authorizing the RFC to lend money to anybody for any purpose. . . . I would like to see every bank in the United States become an honor bank, a double-eagle bank, a bank in which the United States Government had direct stock interest. . . . To date our subscription and/or commitments for loans on preferred stock and capital notes aggregate \$123,000,000 in 117 banks and trust companies."

Three forms of banking are possible: private banking with a minimum of governmental regulation beyond supervision to preserve common honesty; partnership banking between private institutions and the Government; and public ownership and operation of banks. The first has been tried and found wanting to such a tragic degree that it is no longer a feasible alternative in this country. The evidence is rapidly accumulating that the second procedure is destined to be unsatisfactory alike to the government and to the private bankers. Sooner or later we shall be driven to socialized banking. Why not sooner rather than later?

What Is the Constitution?

MR. JAMES M. BECK is worrying about the Constitution. In addressing the Maryland Bar Association last Saturday, he bemoaned the fact that "for the past fifty years the Constitution has been in process of slow demolition. . . . Here an arch has fallen, there a pillar. Now the foundations themselves are fast sinking. The demolition is at accelerating speed." It would be interesting if we knew just what Mr. Beck means by "the Constitution." Does he regard it as a rigid, unchanging document? Does he conceive it to be the embodiment of the social philosophy of eighteenth century traders and planters? What is it that is being demolished?

The orthodox theory of the Constitution was set forth by Chief Justice Marshall, in *Sturges v. Crowninshield*, in this fashion: "The words of the constitution, then, are express and incapable of being misunderstood. They admit of no variety of construction." Mr. Justice Brewer, in *South Carolina v. United States*, declared: "The Constitution is a written instrument. As such its meaning does not alter. That which it meant when adopted it means now." And in countless other instances this thesis has been proclaimed.

That this view should have become so widespread and so popular appears, on serious thought, wholly incredible. If the meaning of the text is crystal clear, and the Justices are wholly dispassionate, why have there been so many divided opinions? Why do four Justices so frequently deny the validity of an interpretation which five Justices hold to be obvious and incontestable? You can have it one way or the other, but not both ways. Either the text is susceptible to contradictory interpretations, or the Justices are prompted by prejudice and passion. Moreover, why do disinterested Justices, in interpreting an unchanging Constitution, find it necessary or advisable to reverse previous decisions of equally disinterested Justices who interpreted the same changeless document?

Even a moment's sober reflection is sufficient to dispel the myth that, through the beneficent operation of the Supreme Court, we are living under a government of law, not of men. *The simple truth is that the law means what the opinions of the judges make it mean.* And these opinions are derived only in minor part from the actual words of the Constitution. How could the situation be otherwise? The Constitution is a very short document, written 156 years ago, in the heat of partisan politics, by property-holders with a profound distrust of popular government, men whose knowledge and experience were inevitably limited by the simple society in which they dwelt. It is obvious that many of the vital questions which come before the Court today

were not only unknown to the Fathers, but could not possibly have been conceived by them.

Thus we see that there is abundant justification for the observation of Mr. Justice Brown, in the *Downes* case, that "the Constitution itself does not answer the question. Its solution must be found in the nature of government created by that instrument, in the opinions of its contemporaries, in the practical construction put upon it by Congress, and in the decisions of this Court." Mr. Justice Holmes, in his famous dissenting opinion in the *Lochner* case, put it this way: "The decisions will depend on a judgment or intuition more subtle than any articulate premise. . . . In determining whether an act has a substantial and rational or reasonable relation to the enumerated matters, the court has in mind a background of 'fundamental principles' which are beyond the reach of any legislative power. What these are and how they affect the question of the substantial or reasonable relation of the act to the enumerated objects depends upon 'a judgment or intuition, more subtle than any articulate premise.' They are indeed the inarticulate major premise itself."

Precisely so, and for this reason the Constitution as interpreted by Justices Sutherland, Butler, and Van Devanter is an utterly different document from the Constitution as interpreted by Justices Brandeis, Cardozo, and Stone. Validation of this observation may be found in an unexpected quarter. In the circle of devout worshippers of the Constitution it is customary to honor John Marshall as high priest of the faith. Among countless utterances that are available, the following words spoken by Mr. Edward J. Phelps in the first annual address of the newly created American Bar Association in 1879 are typical: "The assertion may perhaps be regarded as a strong one, but I believe it will bear the test of reflection, and certainly the reading of American history, that, practically speaking, we are indebted to Chief Justice Marshall for the American Constitution. . . . He was not the commentator upon American constitutional law; he was not the expounder of it. He was the author, the creator of it." In the light of the patriotic theory of the Constitution as a transparent and changeless document, this is an astounding statement. John Marshall's name is not found among the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, and he played no direct part in the drafting of the Constitution. How, then, could he be "the author, the creator of it?"

And a final, clinching argument will be found in the answer to this question: What meaning would a bench of Socialist Justices derive from the text of the Constitution?

Imperialism and Revolt

ROMAIN ROLLAND

THE spectacle offered by the present world is that of a living hell. Every intelligent person among the privileged nations and among the privileged classes sooner or later makes the discovery that his entire civilization rests on the cruel, degrading and murderous exploitation of nine-tenths of the people of the earth. When this realization comes to him, the joy of living dies within him until he resolves to destroy this cancer or to be destroyed in the attempt.

Those who renounce the conflict before they ever start, that is, the great herd of passive spirits, try to excuse themselves for their inactivity on the ground that one cannot change conditions which have always existed. That is false! Certainly the history of mankind has always been the history of the oppression of people, classes and groups, and of the desperate effort of the oppressed to liberate themselves. But never has the crushing of the nine-tenths on this planet reached such a degree of organization as in the last half century. For it is no more the work of individual oppressors—individuals, groups or states—but it is a system which extends to all the great exploiting powers, an imperialism of money which, irrespective of all hates and of all differences and nationalities, dominates international politics. In the same measure as this domination feels itself threatened by the stupidities of capitalist economics, with its insane destruction, and by the murmurs of revolt which today like earthquakes are stirring the oppressed people, the brutality of oppression increases and grows more monstrous. Even the appearance of legality with which modern states generally mask the abuse of power is dropping away. Imperialist civilization is showing its true face: Might is right. By might it has become established, and by terror it maintains itself.

This terror, which at present is found in all parts of the earth delivered to capitalist exploitation, has taken on gigantic proportions in India and the Far East, where it lives on the blood of millions. But fate has decreed that the blood-suckers cannot live on their victims without perishing themselves. England for a whole century has attached itself to the body of India and is draining it white, though at this very moment its prey is escaping. The self-contented comfort of Holland similarly rests upon the spoils of the Dutch East Indies. France has made of its empire in Indo-China not only a source of great profits but also a bastion of war, where its pro-consuls of finance and militarism, similar to those of ancient Rome, have made their base of operations for the coming conflict in the Pacific and for the partitioning of China.

For this reason a state of siege reigns in Bengal as well as in Annam, in Batavia as well as Hanoi, and in Peshawar. Thousands are condemned and languish for years in prisons or in detention camps. Although today the number is vastly reduced, in May, 1932, in India there were 80,000 prisoners whose only crime was that they followed Gandhi and the national Indian Congress in their program of non-violent non-coöperation. In French Indo-China on January 14, 1933, there were about 3,000 political prisoners, and 7,000 have been sentenced since the Yen-bay affair, many of whom are old men, women and children, guilty of having demanded a reduction of taxes, the suppression of corporal punishment in private undertakings, and universal suffrage. In the Dutch East Indies on January 1, 1932, there were 10,000 political prisoners. In China there were many thousands, to say nothing of vast numbers that were massacred. In Korea there were 35,000. Nor dare we forget in this picture the thousands arrested, tortured and sentenced in Japan; the thousands of victims in the Italian, Belgian, Portuguese, and South African colonies, and the diabolic American imperialism, compounded of hypocrisy and cruelty, which makes the churches commercial travelers for Standard Oil, which maintains the cruel masters of Kuomintang and the hangmen of Cuba, which proposes independence to the Philippines in order to subject them all the more economically and which fans in South America the fires of war and of bloody dictatorships.

Whenever the oppressed have rebelled against the oppressors by intermittent and partial revolts, the repression has been silent and swift. But when the oppressors have found themselves face to face with enormous mass organization, such as the Satyagraha of Gandhi in India, they have lost all sense of proportion. This great wave held within the limits of non-violence by the genius of one man also aroused the bourgeois reformers who were eager to preserve at any price the present social status. The installation of a reactionary viceroy and of brutal officials was thought necessary in order to put an end to this magnanimous opposition which had tried to conciliate the interests of England with those of India.

But it worked out differently, because in recent years the masses of the workers and peasants have seen the necessity of organizing a revolutionary fighting group determined to change the social status. A new era was thus opened up in the revolt of the oppressed. It is hardly five years old in India, where the textile strike in Bombay in 1928 and the formation of the Union of

Girni Kamgar resulted; in Annam the movement dates from February, 1930.

SUPPRESSION followed immediately and brutally. In Indo-China a permanent special tribunal was created, the *Commission Criminelle* of Saïgon, with star chamber proceedings, with lawyers officially appointed who have no right to examine the charges "if the security of the state demands it." This tribunal up to July 1, 1932, had sentenced 1,094 persons; of these, 83 were condemned to death, 162 to perpetual forced labor and 420 to deportation; in March and April of the next year 180 Annamite revolutionists were tried before this tribunal.

In British India the judiciary machine is slower, more archaic, and more maladroit, for it adheres solemnly to legal procedure instead of operating as a star chamber as in Indo-China. These courts have just concluded by a scandalous verdict a monster trial at Meerut which lasted from June, 1929, to January, 1933. This trial, which consumed a mountain of paper (more than 2,600 documents on thousands of printed pages) and which cost, in these times of economic ruin, more than £120,000, ended in an iniquitous and revolting sentence which even the liberal opinion of moderate Englishmen has denounced.

IT is important to rouse the opinion of the world, for this trial is not only that of the 27 condemned but of the entire regime which judged them. English liberalism, as one of the condemned, R. S. Nimbkar, has shown, is not only powerless to change the verdict but it is even incapable of understanding the illegality of the procedure or of the special laws which British imperialist terrorism applies to six-sevenths of its empire, that is, to one-sixth of the population of the world.

Most important of all is the fact that the British Labor Government, which permitted this trial, thereby deliberately stamped under foot all the liberal bourgeois doctrines of which it was the champion, and in so doing deliberately counted on the passivity of the labor movement in England; indeed, made British labor its accomplice in destroying the labor movement of India, which constitutes six-sevenths of the Empire.

The Trade Union Congress has made a great ado of celebrating the centenary of the martyred workers of Dorchester, who in 1835 were deported for the crime of organizing and who are today celebrated for having laid the foundations of British trade unionism. Yet the militants of Meerut, who include three great-hearted Englishmen fraternally associated with the Hindu workers, were condemned to deportation under savage conditions, one of them for life, and others for twelve, ten, seven, and five years.* And their crime

consisted in laying the foundation of an independent trade unionism in India. What British imperialism proposes to do is to destroy from the very outset every possibility for the millions of Hindu workers now existing in a living hell to organize for their defense. Will the world of labor permit this? Will the world of the spirit be silent?

WE appeal to both, to manual laborers and intellectuals. We denounce the shameful exploitation of Indian labor which keeps these people in a condition of undernourishment and exhaustion, which compels them to sweat and bleed in order to deliver gold into the maws of the British Empire. We denounce the arbitrary arrest of courageous men who desired to put an end to these crimes and who, according to a memorandum of the government of India in March, 1929, had been guilty of "no action contrary to law."

We denounce the bad faith and the ridiculous ignorance of the accusation against Spratt which charged him with high treason because he spoke of the "nationalization of the means of production and distribution," exactly as every worker and as even the Prime Minister of England did before he renounced Labor. We denounce the charge of "plotting to deprive the King-Emperor of his sovereignty," which is really a charge against all republicanism. We denounce the strangling of trade unionism in India by the country of the trade unions. We denounce all the harm which has been done to the internationalization of the working classes, which is for those classes an essential right and duty, a necessity of existence in order to fight against the international forces of exploitation which are crushing them.

They are for us the living symbol of the thousands of victims in the great battle throughout the world to destroy the yoke of imperialism. All these victims have achieved a victory, for they proclaim the iniquity of which they have been the prey and they demonstrate the irresistible new force of revolt arising in mankind. Nothing will ever arrest this force.—*Translated by H. C. Engelbrecht.*

Who's Who in This Issue

Romain Rolland is one of the most eminent of living novelists and is internationally known for his work in the pacifist movement.

Henry J. Rosner is director of research and publicity for the Socialist Party municipal campaign in New York.

Floyd Tillery is a member of the faculty of the Fairfax (Ala.) High School.

Benson Y. Landis is executive secretary of the American Country Life Association and is a secretary of the Federal Council of Churches.

W. Russell Bowie is pastor of Grace Church in New York City.

Charles C. Webber is industrial secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

* These sentences have in the cases of some prisoners been recently ameliorated markedly. However, the remaining sentences and the long delay amply warrant Mr. Rolland's condemnation.—EDITORS.

Dictatorship?

H. N. BRAILSFORD

ASINGULAR dispute, that may puzzle the rest of the world, has sprung up in the British Labor movement about "dictatorship." Mr. Baldwin and the *Times* are trying to make the British public believe that the Socialist League¹ is proposing to adopt Russian methods, and though they scoff at the League as a handful of highbrow extremists, they contrive none the less to suggest that the Labor Party is likely, if it gets the chance, to destroy Parliament and trample liberty under foot. The Tory Party has ready an ample budget of quotations, torn from their contexts, which will be used at the next election to terrify simple-minded electors.

The Labor Party, in its more official incarnation, is wholly innocent. It was never less disposed to dream of dictatorship, and the effect on it of the Nazi counter-revolution has been to confirm its passionate and uncritical attachment to democracy until one might suppose that its preservation in its classical Nineteenth Century shape were an end in itself, and perhaps the first and most urgent of our tasks. That is a perilous state of mind. It was this delusion about the value of political democracy and paper liberties that destroyed the German Social Democrats. The event proved that a voting machine without the reality of economic power is completely worthless. If the Labor Party learns nothing from that object-lesson, it will do what the Germans did one of these days—make a coalition with the Liberals to preserve democracy, at the cost of postponing socialism.

The standpoint of the Socialist League is worth explaining. This organisation is not quite a year old. It was founded by the minority of the I. L. P. which wished to remain a loyal affiliated unit in the Labor Party. It amalgamated with a small but vigorous group, led by G. D. H. Cole, commonly known as "Zip" (Society for Socialist Propaganda and Research). It will not run candidates for parliament as the I. L. P. did, or behave as a rival party. It seeks rather by its forums, its publications and its research activities to promote an advanced Socialist policy within the wider Labor movement. Its chairman in its first year was E. F. Wise, formerly a brilliant Civil Servant, who learned much about the technique of controlling industry during the war. The chairman for this year is Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the law officers of the last Labor Government and by a long way the

ablest thinker and debater in the diminished little party at Westminster. Mr. Cole, Professor Tawney and Professor Laski are among the active members of the League whose names are likely to be known to American readers. Its membership is between two and three thousand in England (for Scotland has a vigorous kindred organisation of its own), but its aim is rather to enlist active workers than to mass passive support. But I fear it must be admitted that these modest figures reflect the general apathy and bewilderment that overtook the Labor movement after the failures of the last Government and the leaders' desertion. While the League has attracted a considerable number of "intellectuals," the larger proportion of its membership in the provinces comes from the working class.

ITS chief concern is to ensure that the next Labor administration, whether it arrives three or, more probably, eight years hence, shall be a resolute government of action. The official party is sufficiently emphatic in declaring that it will take office only with the firm intention of carrying through the transition to socialism. The old reformist aims have ceased to interest any living section of the party. The program already accepted starts with the socialisation of banking in its entire range, and goes on to deal as drastically with coal-mining and transport—and there is much more to come, as challenging. This is admirable. But does the Party understand that if it really means to capture these key positions, and to grasp economic power, it will be involved in the hottest struggle of all English history? I doubt if it does. It seems to suppose that you can wrest from the owning class all its entrenched positions, by passing a series of bills, in the usual calm and leisurely way, session by session. As we of the Socialist League see it, a Labor Government that seriously meant to do even half these things would find itself confronted from the moment of taking office by an economic and financial resistance that would throw the whole life of the nation into confusion within a few days or weeks. There would be a flight of capital abroad, a collapse of the pound, and a consequent disorganisation of our imports of essential foodstuffs and raw materials. This would be the effect partly of spontaneous panic, fanned by the press, and partly of deliberate, organised sabotage led by the bankers and the City of London. If that went on unchecked, the battle would be lost before the first of our Socialist bills had even been drafted.

¹The League policy is expounded in a book just published by Gollancz (London), at 5s., *Problems of a Socialist Government*, by Sir Stafford Cripps, Sir Charles Trevelyan, E. F. Wise, G. D. H. Cole, Dr. Addison, Major Attlee, J. F. Horrabin, Harold Clay and H. N. Brailsford.

We argue, then, that the first step is to pass an Emergency Powers Act, modelled on war-time legislation, which would empower the government to control the entire financial machine, and to regulate foreign trade. The Commons, on the assumption that we have a majority, would pass such a bill in a day, but the Lords would as certainly reject it. What then? Are we to wait, as the Parliament Act prescribes, for a minimum period of two years, until by the usual leisurely process, we can overcome their veto? Orderly government would be impossible: we should be overwhelmed by a problem of mass unemployment and semi-starvation, incapable, because we controlled only one half of the legislature, of any effective action whatever. The Lords could paralyse a Socialist government, not by rejection of its constructive Socialist legislation, but by refusing to it all means of defence against the sabotage of the owning class and the financial system.

THE Socialist League foresees, therefore, that the Party must be ready for a sharp and decisive struggle with the Lords. There is no escaping the battle for their abolition, and that can be effected constitutionally only if the King will create at need a sufficient number of peers to swamp them. That, I may remind readers unfamiliar with the pre-war history of England, was the way in which Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George overcame them, but it cost them two elections before the King would consent. Could we administer during the interval of confusion? Everything turns then on the realisation by the Party that it is engaged in a very unusual adventure. It must rally behind itself an electorate so conscious of the magnitude of the issue, so resolute, so militant that no king dare stand in its way. It must seek a mandate, not merely to socialise banks, but to sweep away any obstacle to its will. We shall be engaged in a struggle for power. Once that issue is raised, it must be settled. We shall not be able to regulate our pace, or to do our work piecemeal. We shall be compelled, whether we wish to do so or not, to control the entire mechanism of industry and trade.

It is this demand for emergency powers that has led to the accusation that we propose to set up a dictatorship. The question is one of words. We demand the powers that the Liberal government took to itself in the first week of the Great War. We do not propose to touch the civil liberties of the citizen, to crush free speech, or to lessen the responsibility of the elected House. We are neither Hitlerite nor Stalinite in method. But we do propose that the transition to socialism, when at last the electorate has sanctioned it, shall be carried out in good order; the interests beaten at the polls must not be allowed to frustrate the electorate by creating economic chaos.

Critics of the Socialist League have also contrived

to misunderstand its attitude to Parliament. I will not pretend that we view it with superstitious veneration. But neither do we propose to lessen its general control over legislation and administration. We do perceive, however, that an institution devised to fit the theory and practice of *laissez faire* is wholly unsuited to any modern conception of government. Are we to spend six or seven months of each Parliamentary year in passing a separate bill to regulate each of the industries that must be controlled? American readers will grasp the difficulty more readily than Englishmen do. Suppose that Congress had insisted on passing a separate bill to enact the code now imposed on each industry, and had insisted on debating every detail in both Houses, how many years would the process have required? The only rational procedure is to pass a general act conferring large powers on the executive, and to trust it to adjust the details. We contemplate something much more ambitious than the Industrial Recovery Act. We must socialise the key industries, and control the rest. In much the same way we propose that Parliament shall pass a general Act, which will define the broad principles. But the vast mass of detail, the delicate adjustments varying infinitely from trade to trade—these must be left to bodies created for the purpose, outside Parliament. They will of course report to Parliament, but they will have to enjoy unquestioned authority to carry the work all the way through.

THERE are several ways in which this might be done. One very interesting suggestion has been made by Sir Stafford Cripps. It is that Parliament should have before it virtually only one bill in each session—the budget. But the budget, instead of being a mere balance sheet, would be a reasoned statement of the year's plan for the reorganisation of industry. Thus the scheme could be judged as an organised whole, and Parliament would have, what it never has today, a bird's eye view of the nation's life, and of the lines on which a creative government was seeking to shape it anew. That, or something like it, would be our conception of the right use of sovereign power in a modern democracy. We rather doubt the sincerity of people who insist that each regulation that we impose on carpenters, candle-stick-makers, manufacturers of paper bags, barbers, grocers and so on, shall be solemnly debated in three readings by both Houses. If that were the only way in which democracy can govern, then indeed the sooner we abandoned it the better.

We believe that it is our school, and not the devotees of tradition, who are trying to save democracy. But it can be done only by a bold revision of the whole conception of the functions of Parliament. We believe in democracy, but we see it rather as an ideal to win, than as a legacy that must be defended.

Socialism or Reformism?

HENRY J. ROSNER

SOME people who regard themselves as liberals and progressives in politics, not too well grounded in the fundamentals of independent political action, and extremely naive as to the nature of conventional reform movements in New York City, have questioned the wisdom of the refusal of the Socialist Party to participate in the anti-Tammany fusion movement in New York City. Although this policy should need no defense for the informed economic liberal and Socialist sympathizer, it is well to state the Socialist case vigorously and forcibly to clear up any possible misunderstanding.

Socialists do not categorically reject all fusion. No better evidence is needed than the record of Socialist participation in the La Follette movement of 1924. Then the Socialists supported La Follette because the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods, farm organizations and liberal and progressive groups were behind him, because his program looked towards the collective control of economic life in the interests of the masses of the people, and because it was completely divorced from and opposed to the two old capitalist parties.


From my intimate contact with the most important Socialist leaders in America, I believe that the party would again willingly join a similar movement if it were anywhere on the horizon. But by no stretch of the imagination does the fusion movement in New York City fit this formula. Let us put some of the elements behind fusion under the microscope. First, there is the Republican Party of Hoover and Ogden Mills. Surely nobody wants to strengthen Republicanism by victory in New York City. In fact, the Republican machine in New York City has been even worse than its national counterpart. I have heard national Republican leaders openly charge that Sam Koenig, the Republican boss of Manhattan, has been in league with Boss Curry on many crooked deals—a fact well known to every political reporter in New York.

Fusion has nominated for the important office of Comptroller, Arthur Cunningham, secretary of the Textile Banking Company. Mr. Cunningham is unknown to New York politics and has no record of public service. Why then was he selected? The answer is that the fusionists want someone at the head of the Finance Department who will see eye to eye with the banking fraternity. The public welfare, however, requires a comptroller who will stand up and fight the bankers, who have robbed the city of many millions of dollars through the levy of excess interest charges.

Let us turn now to the question of program. To date the fusionists have not produced a platform. One active member of the city party, representing the so-called Independent element, recently informed me that "they were having a tough time formulating a program that everybody could agree on." The probability is that the fusion campaign will be waged exclusively on the slogan: "Throw Tammany out." La Guardia, in anticipation of this difficulty, has already announced that "there are no economic issues in the campaign." Transit, housing, taxation and unemployment relief are all economic issues, the solution of which are vitally bound up with the policy of whoever rules at City Hall. La Guardia knows this as well as any man in American public life today, but he dodges the issues lest he lose the support of conservative real estate and banking groups. Can Socialists participate in a movement which buries the very issues which are at the core of their philosophy and program?

FINALLY, there are those who admit the validity of these criticisms but who see in the record and personality of La Guardia sufficient cause for supporting the fusionist movement. The Socialists challenge that record. He has been an opportunist unashamed at all times. In 1924 he ran for Congress on the La Follette ticket, endorsed by the Socialists, who at first refused to name him as their congressional candidate. But, under pressure of the Railroad Brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor, they finally consented on condition that La Guardia repudiate both major parties. This he did because that was the only road to success at the polls in his district that year. Two years later, however, he again turned Republican.

In opposition to La Guardia, the Socialist Party offers for the mayoralty Charles Solomon, a man who has been an active and leading figure in the Socialist and labor movements for almost a quarter of a century. Mr. Solomon was elected four times to the New York State Legislature, once over Democratic-Republican fusion. As a lawyer, he has fought the battles of labor in every court of the state, and has led in many notable civil liberties fights. It is common talk among old party politicians in New York City that Solomon would have occupied high political office were it not for his unswerving loyalty to his Socialist principles. Had he been the La Guardia type of opportunist, he would be considered a far more important figure than is the fusionist candidate in New York City politics.



Not in the

L.I.P.A. to U.C.P.P.A.

At the Chicago conference held by the League for Independent Political Action September 1 and 2, over 100 delegates formulated a political and economic program and formed a new organization (not a new political party as yet) to be known as the United Conference for Progressive Political Action. It is expected that the L.I.P.A. as such will disband and that Howard Y. Williams, secretary of the L.I.P.A., will become secretary of the new organization. A Committee of Action, with Dr. John Dewey as Honorary Chairman, was constituted, and empowered to expand its membership to 40. Trade union representation is reported by the Federated Press to have been somewhat disappointing, but farmer interest was manifest and encouraging.

Hoan Triumphant

The attempt to recall Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, for 17 years Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, has fallen through and the recall group has asked that their petition be dismissed. So many dead men's names were included, plus addresses in the river and at churches and vacant lots, that the effort was made ridiculous.

Big Five Should Be Socialized

The British Labor Party some time ago urged that the Bank of England be brought under public ownership and control. It now extends this proposal to include nationalization of the five big banks: Barclays, Lloyds, Midland, National Provincial, and Westminster, with their numerous branches.

Objection to White Adviser

Protest against the appointment of Clark Foreman, of Atlanta, to the Department of the Interior as adviser on the economic status of the Negro was telegraphed to Secretary Ickes on August 26 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The objection did not relate to Mr. Foreman personally, but to the idea of selecting a white man when highly qualified Negroes were available and preferable. "The age of paternalism in the relations of the races is past, so far as Negroes are concerned, and they bitterly resent having a white man officially designated by the government to advise on their welfare," wired the Association.

Crime of Crimes

The South Philadelphia High School recently expelled Irving Katz for distributing a leaflet calling for a protest meeting against the Philadelphia Board of Education ban on student anti-war meetings.

Italian Professors Must Take Oath

The Manchester Guardian has just published a communication from a group of professors in Italian universities, calling attention to the oath now required of all new professors in that country. "It is common knowledge that not only State universities but even free universities . . . make party membership an absolute requirement for every new appointment. Every member has now to take the following oath: 'In the name of God and Italy, I swear to execute the Duce's orders, and to serve with all my strength and, if necessary, with my blood, the cause of the Fascist revolution.'"

Company Unions Outvoted

A smashing victory was scored by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers when 36 out of 46 Berks County, Pennsylvania, hosiery mills voted union in the secret balloting arrangement made by unionists, manufacturers and the National Labor Board. Seven mills voted non-union and two remained undecided. The vote in one mill is being protested by the union. Nearly 14,000 votes were cast, and the ratio in favor of the union in all the mills together ran nearly three to one.

A Mile of Oranges

A friend has sent us photographs of immense piles of oranges thrown out to rot in order to force up prices. Here is our correspondent's comment: "This photo shows a single pile of oranges over a mile long which has been dumped near Anaheim, California."

Nazis Crush Coöperatives

With the coming of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany, the consumers' coöperatives have suffered greatly. Most of the stores are still open, but the movement as a whole has been placed in the hands of Commissioner Karl Mueller. A Fascist also sits on the central board of directors. Fascist signs are the most prominent feature of the displays. In the Berlin society a two per cent rebate is being continued, but, as Professor Colston Warne points out in the Federated Press, membership meetings are held largely to listen to the harangues of the Nazi commissioner in control of the movement.

Protesting P. O. Workers

Aroused by the refusal of the Post Office Department to alleviate what are described as sweatshop conditions of substitute postal employees, the National Association of Substitute Post Office Employees is making preparations for nationwide demonstrations before the local officers of the N.R.A. urging the adoption of a code.

The N.R.A. as a Frankenstein

The September Bulletin of C. F. Childs & Company views with alarm the N.R.A., as may be seen from the following quotation: "The artificial flavor of the entire scheme conflicts with the natural principle of survival. It is a veritable revolution—an adoption of mediaeval business standards and attitudes. . . . No such Sovietizing of business with such acquiescence by industry in such a revolutionary experiment would have been conceivable except in the midst of depression and public despair. . . . Few seem to comprehend what has taken place or the possible ultimate outcome. We stand aghast before the Frankenstein of our own creation."

Japan Bars British Lord

Lord Marley, a British delegate to an anti-war conference in Shanghai, was forbidden to land at Kobe by Japanese police authorities. *The New Statesman and Nation* comments upon the fact that the British Government has made no protest against the exclusion of the chief Opposition Whip in the House of Lords from the realm of the Mikado, and that Conservative newspapers have shown no interest in the incident.

Spanish Socialists Confound Prophets

The Spanish Socialist Party, in consequence of its tremendous recent growth, has been allotted increased voting strength in the Labor and Socialist International. "It used to be a commonplace," said *El Socialista* in a recent editorial, "to repeat to the point of repletion that the growth in the Socialist forces experienced after the proclamation of the Republic would not be maintained. There was no lack of prophets even to forecast that in a short time there would be a substantial decline in our membership." At the end of 1932 there were 73,857 members in the local groups of the Party, a figure which was more than three times the membership when the Republic came into existence in April, 1931. At the end of the first half of 1933, however, this figure had been increased to 81,777.

Headlines

Trenton Negroes to Swim

The Supreme Court of New Jersey has ordered the Trenton Board of Education to permit Negro students to use the swimming pool at the Central High School on the same terms as white students, reports the *Crisis*.

Picketing the Munitions Czars

Further adventures in the campaign to picket the factories of ammunition makers and to interview, when possible, their managers or owners, are reported by Elsa Tudor, who, with her friend Mrs. Murray, has already stirred public comment by a vigorous crusade. From John Harrington, one of the owners of the Harrington and Richardson Arms Company of Worcester, Massachusetts, the picketers received a disagreeable welcome. "Wars have always been and always will be," was the excuse given for manufacture of the materials of human slaughter. It was intimated that the women must be getting money from Moscow. Only four signatures were obtained to an anti-war petition among this firm's employees, a fact which may be accounted for by the threat of the owner, in his men's hearing, that he would fire any man signing it.

Continental Congress Secretary

The Executive Committee of the Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers has secured the services of Dan R. Donovan, well known New England trade unionist, in the capacity of field secretary. This is in line with the decision of the Congress executive to throw the full weight of its federated strength of trade unions, unemployed organizations, farmers and coöperative groups, labor, fraternal and political organizations, behind the drive of American trade unions to organize under the N.R.A. the masses hitherto unorganized.

Wholesale Coöp Does Well

The coöperative movement in the northern states is weathering the depression much better than did the movement during the post-war deflation, to judge from reports and figures in the Central Coöperative Wholesale Yearbook for 1933, as analyzed by the Federated Press. This volume, published by the Wholesale at Box 557, Superior, Wisconsin, shows that although some of the coöperative retail stores were hard hit by the reduction in buying power, they centralized their orders through the Wholesale and got better terms. Total Wholesale sales in 1932 were \$1,310,000 with a net gain of \$9,000 at a time when the big capitalist chains were showing losses.

Labor Gains in Belgium

Official reports by the Belgian Labor Party submitted at its recent conference at Brussels revealed a gain during 1932 from 559,085 members to 568,191. The report also indicates that in most of the elections occurring, there was an increased vote for socialism.

Lèse Majesté

Rev. Alva J. Shaller, liberal minister of the influential Unitarian church in San José, California, has been dismissed by his board of directors following his protests against police treatment of strikers. Shaller objected to the rough handling of cherry pickers on strike for a living wage and his summary dismissal without notice followed. He is a Harvard graduate and had been pastor of the church for three years.

Dr. McDowell Uses Straight Words

Dr. John McDowell, moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, recently speaking at the Institute of Public Affairs at Charlottesville, Virginia, declared that our age is one of "pagan economics". "It is idle," he asserted, "to talk of the Kingdom of God, of an ideal social order in which the Divine Will is realized, while the essentially pagan economic system exists."

Annulment Recommended

In a recent letter to the New York *Times*, Senator Pittman said: "The Monroe Doctrine no longer serves a good purpose. On the contrary, this ancient doctrine is still a source of annoyance in many parts of Central and South America, with whose people we are on the friendliest relations. Annulment of the Monroe Doctrine would stimulate the friendship that already exists and be to the mutual benefit of both continents."

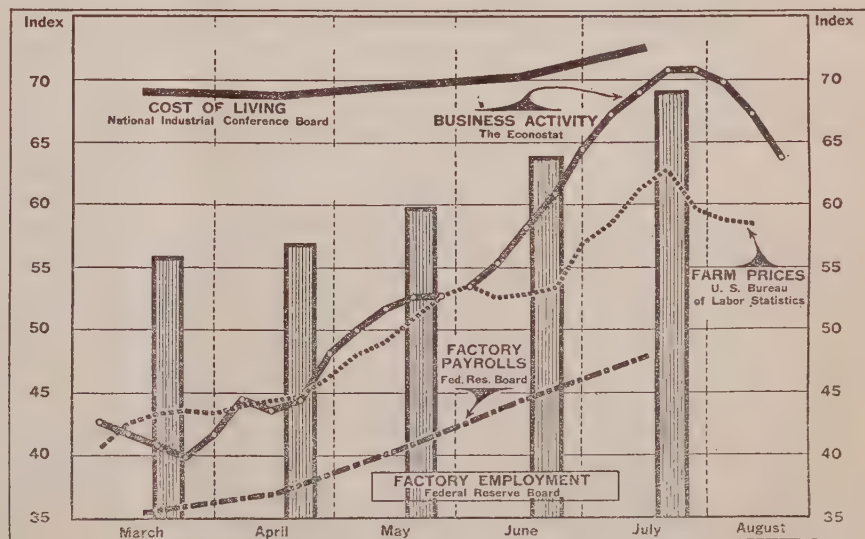
Bank Buildings for Sale

Representative Mead, chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices, recently forwarded a communication to General Johnson and Secretary Ickes, suggesting that the Government purchase closed bank buildings in communities that do not now have publicly-owned post office buildings.

Children and the American Dole

The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor estimates that "today somewhere in the neighborhood of one-fifth of all preschool and school children in the United States are showing the effects of poor nutrition, of inadequate housing, of lack of medical care, and in many cases the effect of the anxiety and the sense of insecurity that prevails wherever there is no work."

Health Chart of the Nation Under the New Deal



(All items have been converted to a common base representing percentages of a 1926 average of 100.)

—From News-Week.

Why German Socialism Collapsed

KIRBY PAGE

THE all-important fact to keep constantly in mind is that Hitlerism was produced by the Treaty of Versailles, and except as a consequence of crushing defeat in war its emergence is scarcely conceivable. A proud and arrogant nation, with a glorious history and a marvelous record of achievement was savagely crushed by the overwhelming forces arrayed against it. The German losses in blood and treasure were unimaginably severe, and were rendered even more intolerable by the Carthaginian-like Treaty of Versailles. The economic burdens imposed by the victors were increased in weight ten-fold by emotional resentment and enmity. The disruptive consequences of the French invasion of the Ruhr, the catastrophic effects of the currency inflation which robbed German money of practically all its value, the appalling prospect of continuing reparation payments through two generations, the terrific repercussions of the world-wide economic crash, the tragedy of six million unemployed, and the cumulative evidence that this ghastly nightmare must be endured for decades to come—all this was more than human muscles and nerves could endure. The miracle is that the lid did not blow off years before.

Deepening resentment against the successive administrations in office during these awful days was inevitable. In every country prolonged "hard times" are the signal for a change of executives and legislators. The German situation was enormously complicated by the fact that the Republic was born during the last hours of the most terrible war of history, was suckled on adversity, limped as a distorted dwarf through the years of its youth, and perished from foul blows without ever enjoying a moment of health or sanity.

So long as the Allies' policy of keeping Germany impotent was maintained, no administration in the Reich could succeed. Through the superior medium of hindsight, many commentators have discovered that the Social Democrats committed an inexcusable blunder in not seizing power in 1919 and proceeding at once with the task of creating a workers' dictatorship. This thesis overlooks or minimizes the stubborn fact that Socialists and Communists, combined, never commanded a majority of the German people. There was a moment when together they controlled approximately half the votes in the Reichstag, but *their representatives were not elected on a platform of immediate seizure of power.*

The assertion is frequently made that the primary

cause of Hitler's success may be found in the failure of the German workers to present a united front, and no doubt there is much truth in this statement. But the evidence is clear that the only kind of united front that would have been supported by the German Communist Party was one that looked toward armed revolt for the purpose of establishing a proletarian dictatorship. German Communists were entirely dominated by Moscow and the Third International, and while the Russians were extremely reluctant to precipitate a crisis in Germany that would threaten the success of their own program at home, they were adamant against effective coöperation of a non-warlike character with the Social Democrats. This opposition is inherent in their basic philosophy and strategy. They look upon non-Communist liberals and radicals as enemies of the working class, to be fought as ruthlessly as they fight capitalists.

"THE point of departure of the German Communist Party," writes Leon Trotsky, "was that there is nothing but a mere division of labor between the social democracy and fascism, that their interests are similar if not identical. Instead of helping to aggravate the discord between communism's principal political adversary and its mortal foe—for which it would have been sufficient to proclaim the truth aloud instead of violating it—the Communist International convinced the reformists and the fascists that they were twins, it predicted their conciliation, embittered and repulsed the Social Democratic workers and consolidated their reformist leaders. . . . It displayed persistency and perseverance only in sabotaging the united front, from above as well as from below. . . . The fundamental principle of the Communist International was: *a united front with the reformist leaders cannot be permitted!* Then, at the most critical hour, the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, without explanation or preparation, appealed to the leaders of the social democracy, proposing the united front as an ultimatum: today or never! . . . After the inevitable failure of an attempt at compromise, the Communist International ordered that the appeal be ignored and the very idea of a united front was once more proclaimed counter-revolutionary."

Ever since the success of the Russian revolution and the formation of the Third International, Communists in all countries have carried on an unrelenting warfare against Socialists, and so long as this

policy is maintained it is absurd to expect unity among radicals.

Moreover, there is no basis for the belief that even a united front in Germany would have made possible the violent seizure of power. On the contrary, the evidence seems conclusive that the workers would have been ruthlessly suppressed by counter-revolutionaries and foreign invaders. In this connection, it is significant that, following the tragic collapse of the radical movement in Germany, Fritz Hackert, an important member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, wrote: "It is therefore clear that with the then relation of class forces, the German Communists could not raise the question of the seizure of power for the proletariat. We German Communists had not, as had the Russian Bolsheviks in October, 1917, an overwhelming majority of the toilers, but we had not even a majority of the proletariat, on our side. A substantial part of the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie have not yet overcome their illusions with regard to nationalism. The entire armed forces of the Reichswehr, the police, the Stahlhelm, the Storm Troops, were drawn up against the unarmed proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks, however, had on their side, as is well known, not only armed workers, but also a substantial part of the army, and enjoyed the benevolent neutrality of another part of the army. This position of the class forces determined the temporary defeat of the proletariat." Exactly so! And at no time was there a chance for a successful proletarian seizure of power in Germany. After fifteen years of living hell the German people were so utterly opposed to a proletarian dictatorship that the Communist Party, in spite of its six million supporters, proved absolutely impotent at the moment when conditions were most favorable for the seizure of power.

EQUALLY significant is the further fact that, even if the revolutionaries had temporarily established a workers' government, nationalizing land, socializing industry, and inaugurating a Red terror against counter-revolutionaries, *France and her allies would have wrecked the revolutionary regime in an utterly savage manner.* To maintain otherwise is to forget that, with far less reason, Allied troops invaded the Soviet Union and attempted to overthrow the Leninists. No revolutionary government in Germany at that time could have observed the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and continued reparation payments, and there is not a scintilla of reason to doubt that upon rejection of the Treaty, French troops would have occupied Berlin and utterly routed the revolutionaries.

A radical government in Germany, moreover, would have been confronted with the economic hostility of

capitalist powers, with catastrophic effects upon the standard of living of German people. It must not be forgotten that foreign loans have played an extremely important part in maintaining German industry in the post-war years. The shutting off of these loans and the crippling of Germany's foreign commerce would have produced unemployment and hunger on an appalling scale. The utterly different attitude of capitalist nations toward the revolution in Italy from that toward the revolution in Russia reveals clearly what their policy would have been toward a radical German government. The stake of foreign financiers and industrialists was far heavier in Germany than in Russia, and their efforts to overthrow a revolutionary regime in the former country would have been much more determined and ruthless than their intervention in the land of the Bolsheviks. *There is absolutely no reason, therefore, to believe that the German workers would have been able to resist counter-revolutionaries at home, plus armed intervention from France, plus economic attacks from capitalist nations.*

IT is high time, therefore, for foreigners to cease reproaching German radicals for failing to seize power. Far more appropriate and realistic would be a relentless indictment of the peoples and governments of the Allied countries for imposing and maintaining the barbarous Treaty of Versailles. The labor movements of Great Britain, France, and the United States cannot evade terrible responsibility for the disasters which have befallen their German comrades. The blindness and inactivity of the liberal and radical forces in the Allied countries impaled the German labor movement upon cruel horns and offered it no opportunity of escape from the dilemma.

To avoid utter ruin at the hands of France, German workers were compelled to submit to the Treaty of Versailles and to continue reparation payments; and in order to safeguard the infant Republic against the plots of monarchists, they felt obliged to collaborate with the parties of the center. There is every reason to believe that the Republic could not have been preserved without the vigorous support of the Social Democrats. It is easy to say at this distance and at this late hour that the German radicals paid too heavy a price for support of the Weimar Constitution, but to millions of Germans the restoration of the Hohenzollerns was an appalling prospect, to be prevented at almost any cost.

All this is not to say that the Social Democrats committed no blunders. It is tragically true that they ceased to be a party of radical socialism and became satisfied with the crumbs of reform. Much of their strength was derived from the trade unions, whose leaders were sobered by responsibility and made timid through concern for vested interests of their organi-

zations. Like most other officials, the leaders of the Social Democrats vastly overrated the significance of being returned to office at the next election, and consequently tempered their radicalism to the point where their program did not differ fundamentally from those of the liberal parties. Their super-reliance upon parliamentary action, their failure to wage the struggle more vigorously on the economic front, and their policy of excessive compromise with capitalism, cost them the allegiance of many hundreds of thousands of the younger and more virile workers, who in despair turned to communism.

We may recognize the blunders committed by the Social Democrats and still find it easy to appreciate the terrible predicament in which they found themselves. Their abhorrence of monarchy, their fear of invasion from France, and the inherent complexities and uncertainties of the situation confronting them made any other course than one of caution and compromise difficult to follow. The harder they struggled

to preserve the gains of Weimar, the more they became the scapegoat of Germany's miseries, and the more bitter the denunciation heaped upon them by all enemies of the Versailles Treaty and of the Republic. No German administration could observe the provisions of the treaty and escape the passionate resentment of its victims, and no German administration could fail to acknowledge the validity of the treaty without running grave risk of being overturned by French arms.

The downfall of the Social Democrats was due in part to their own blunders, but far more it was caused by titanic forces beyond their control. Granted the totality of the situation, there was small possibility of establishing an enduring workers' government, Socialist or Communist, and little likelihood that the radical parties could save themselves from being buried under the wreckage of the Republic, which was made almost inevitable by the blind and vindictive policy of the Allies.

Culture in a Mill Village

FLOYD TILLERY

FAIRFAX is the name of a Southern cotton mill village, with a population of about 2,000, located in the valley of the Chattahoochee River, 100 miles from Atlanta. During the 1932 commencement season the Fairfax High School awarded diplomas to 28 seniors—diplomas declaring that John Smith and Mary Jones knew much about quadratic equations, catalytic agencies, the law of falling bodies, irregular French verbs and the Spenserian stanza. Of the number graduated, two entered college the following September—seven per cent of the graduating class. The fortunate ones were sons of two of the bosses. The other 26 graduates—those who did not go to college, who could not go to college, who never once expected to go to college—are either working today in the cotton mill, or waiting eagerly for the depression to lift so that they may begin working there. Yesterday mastering the binomial theorem; today filling bobbins in the spinning room.

I happen to be a member of the faculty of Fairfax High School. My principal subject is English. Soon after I began working in this school, three years ago, I learned that the majority of the 25 pupils in the senior class knew no more English than a fourth grade pupil is supposed to know. In due time I persuaded most of my charges to start again at the beginning and try to learn something. Thus I spent the major portion of my first year trying to

teach them to speak and to write simple English clearly, directly, and fairly correctly. Along with this went a continual effort to stimulate their minds into some kind of activity, that they might perhaps wake up, take notice, and 'bout-face.

The next year, in a small way, I began trying to interest them in the story of literature and its messages. Laying aside the study of *Paradise Lost*, *The De Coverley Papers* and *Travels With a Donkey*, I was able to capture their attention with discussions of such men as Bacon, Milton, Byron, Emerson and Walt Whitman. I soon found that I had been able to start a considerable number to thinking. As the days went by, Walt Whitman's *Prophecy of a New Era*, Emerson's *Self-Reliance*, Milton's *Freedom of the Mind*, Bacon's *Theory of Learning* and Byron's *Fight for Liberty* came to be familiar classroom topics. I was well pleased, of course; but I kept wondering if anything would ever happen, and what, and when. I kept waiting.

In addition to my classes in English I was also assigned a course styled "Problems in American Democracy." I was amazed every time this class met for recitation. These boys and girls had no background of American history, no conception of what is meant by a democracy, no understanding of the aims and ideals of our government. Some wrote it "Silver War"; some associated Lincoln with the Revolution

of 1776; some thought it was Magna Charta that was hidden in an oak tree; some said that the first permanent settlement was made in New York in 1700; and there were those who thought that Robert E. Lee was a general in the World War. These are unexaggerated statements, and they are only five out of surely 500.

I SUGGESTED that we adopt as our motto these words: "Let's begin thinking and let's stay open." The pupils agreed. The fight was on. Of course I was unable to prevent these boys and girls from reading the textbook, and I was unable to suppress them in their questionings. Had I not challenged them to think? Had I not lightly chided them for having been made puppets of? An intellectual explosion was inevitable. One day we were trying to correlate some social facts in democracy with some social facts in literature. Particularly we endeavored to define culture, to say how it came about and why, who were and who were not cultured.

"But why should we be wasting our time studying the difference between veneer and culture?" exclaimed Margaret right in the midst of the lesson, with a pained expression on her face. "Indeed why should we be wasting our time here going to high school at all? Those of us who may stick it out until graduation time—we will be working out yonder in the mill, doing the work we could have done just as well when we were 12 years old in the fifth grade! All our lives we will be working out there. And I think it a shame that we have to come to school at all after we are old enough to work. We only learn enough to make us unhappy; we only learn what fools we are, and how helpless! I can name you 50 boys and girls who have finished this high school within the past four years who are working out yonder right now ten hours a day for eight dollars a week. These boys and girls are high school graduates, but what good has their high school education ever done them?"

"Has anyone else in the class anything to say about this matter Margaret has mentioned?" I inquired.

THEN one after another of these boys and girls had their say, giving expression to pent-up things that had been accumulating for who knows how long.

"Well, what would you have me try to do about it?" I asked. And they knew that I really meant the query.

"Help us to get away from Fairfax!" they echoed.

"Would that do much good, you think?" I asked.

"Except just for you? What about the girls and boys in Fairfax tomorrow, tomorrow and tomorrow? Would it not be a far better thing if we could in some way try to bring about conditions that would affect all

boys and girls everywhere? Conditions so that all people everywhere should be engaged in doing the work of the world and sharing in the advantages on an equal basis?"

"But that day is too far off to touch us, now," they replied. "You just help us to get away. And if you will help us, we promise you that you and your work and your efforts shall be multiplied. We promise you that we shall go forth into life determined to do our parts towards bringing about a change in the social order so that all boys and girls in America and throughout the entire world shall some day have an equal and a fair chance."

"I can see nothing wrong in that proposal," I answered them. "I'll do my best for you as honestly as I know how and as long as I may be permitted. We shall do nothing of which we need be ashamed, and we shall do nothing secretly. But we shall do something in the way of a beginning, and that within the next few days."

The following week we organized the Life Work Club, the main purpose of which is to help each member find his work, to help him prepare for it, and to help him get ready to escape. In addition to this, the club affords 20 intelligent, capable, thinking cotton mill boys and girls an opportunity for self-expression, for self-culture, and for self-training. It is a workshop for the future. We meet for two hours every Wednesday night at the schoolhouse. The meetings are open to parents and school officials. Programs are posted regularly on the bulletin-board—such topics as the following: A Study of Four World Religions, Four Radical Forms of Government, The History of the Opera, Emerson's Philosophy of Individualism, Labor and Capital, Religion and Science, What is Wrong with the World? The Creative Type of Mind, The Lives of Geniuses.

In the club are boys and girls who say that they are going to be teachers, welfare workers, librarians, scientists, reformers, artists, actors, poets, writers, musicians, and singers. Little concerts featuring the music of Beethoven, Bach and other great masters are held; sketches are given of the lives of the great doers of the world; reports are made on such books as *Don Quixote*, *Madame Bovary* and *The World of William Clissold*; plays are read, such as *The Melting Pot*, *The Servant in the House*, and *Candida*; such men are discussed as Trotsky, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Roosevelt, and Gandhi; and during these round-tables every member fully expresses himself on practically every phase of social, religious, and industrial life that touches him and his fellows.

To sit in at these meetings, to listen to these cotton-mill boys and girls talk, and to dream of what may happen tomorrow—this, I find, is the most interesting experience of my life. I wonder if these, too, are not "Children of the Revolution."

The Farmers' New Deal

BENSON Y. LANDIS

PERHAPS second only to the Industrial Recovery Act in importance among the accomplishments of the Roosevelt administration was the President's recommendation for farm relief legislation. Even during the banking crisis a conference of agricultural leaders was called to hammer out a program that promised to be effective. That conference, although built upon many previous deliberations, was greatly influenced by the psychology of crisis which gripped Washington at the time of its calling. The view that prevailed was an outgrowth, to some extent at least, of what had been done by emergency legislation designed to deal with the banking situation. If extraordinary powers had been given the President to deal with banking, why not confer somewhat similar grants to the Secretary of Agriculture to enable him to deal drastically with the farm deflation? Planting was about to take place. If the crops of 1933 were to be affected, action must be taken at once. It was not until May 12, however, that the legislation was signed by the President. A much enlarged act emerged, with the well-known inflation rider attached, but two months of the most precious time had been lost.

The broad purpose of the Agricultural Adjustment Act is to restore a better balance between agriculture and the urban community. It declares that interstate transactions of seven important farm products are now "affected with a national public interest." It seeks to restore the relation between prices of farm products and prices of materials and services which farmers buy to that which obtained in the years 1909-14. Why those years? They are important years to farm economists and agricultural leaders. It is pretty generally thought that agriculture during those years was well adjusted to the total economic situation, that its purchasing power in terms of manufactured products or supplies was "normal." There are those who say it was the golden age of agriculture, as contrasted, for example, with the maladjustments of the whole post-war era.

An Emergency Agricultural Adjustment Administration was set up, under the joint supervision of George Peek, originator of the ill-fated McNary-Haugen bill and once a colleague of Hugh S. Johnson; and Charles Brand, director of the National Fertilizer Association, who was once in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. To them are entrusted specific grants of methods and powers to achieve the purposes outlined. Control of production is to be

grappled with. It is at least a bold, if crude, attempt at planning for agriculture. When the act is made applicable to one of the seven crops named, the effective demand is estimated and the probable production needed to meet it is determined. Then contracts are drawn up between the Secretary of Agriculture and individual farmers. The signing of contracts is handled through state and county committees of farmers, assisted by the agricultural extension workers. The stories of the cotton and wheat campaigns may illustrate the process.

IN spite of the shortest wheat crop in 40 years, there was on July 1, 1933, the largest wheat "carryover" in the history of the United States. There is also stored at this moment a tremendous reserve of baled cotton. In the light of the probable effective demand, reductions of acreage are being called for by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. The cotton campaign to achieve reduction of acreage was a highly dramatic performance. It called for destruction of the plants on 10,000,000 acres. At the American Country Life Conference, held at Blacksburg, Virginia, in August, Secretary Wallace said it was a method which he hated, but that he honestly believed there would be less misery in the world during 1933-34 if the cotton were destroyed than if it were not destroyed. The cotton campaign lagged for a time. It did not look as though the voluntary coöperation necessary for success would be forthcoming. Planters hung back for a while, even as did trade associations from the N. R. A. But the tremendous force of President Roosevelt's personal appeals made itself felt and more than 10,000,000 acres were offered. It is said in some quarters that Secretary Wallace was disappointed that it took so long to get the response. Nevertheless, farmers of the South made the first widespread demonstration of participation in planned production, and that perhaps is most worth recording.

The cotton planter is paid for those idle lands in the form of a rental graduated according to the productivity of his land, or in the form of a highly technical option to buy cotton in warehouses at less than the probable market price. The money to reward the farmer who complies comes from the processors' tax levied on spinners.

In the case of wheat the processors' tax was first levied and production quotas were later worked out. The international coöperation resulting in export quotas

for the principal exporting nations, with the exception of Russia, apparently offers some assistance in the program. The campaign for getting contracts is now under way in 40 states. Production cuts of about 15 per cent are being asked for. The processors' taxes on flour were reported on August 14 to have resulted in advances to consumers averaging one and one-half cents per pound loaf of bread.

Obviously the plan calls for raising consumers' prices and transferring the increases to the producer, on the thesis that producers' prices were ruinously low and the great community should not ask the producer to go with so poor a reward. But distribution costs—the whole wasteful, inefficient distribution system—are not at all dealt with. True, the E.A.A.A. has power to license, but it has announced only that it will license milk distributors in important metropolitan markets. In the case of milk, "trade agreements," which are actually combinations for the control of price and which would have violated the anti-trust laws, are being resorted to as a means of bringing order out of chaos in metropolitan milk sheds. The milk supply of the great cities could be discussed at length to show the way many consumers and many producers suffer as a result of excessive distribution costs. It is a fact that during the price declines of the depression, farmers took the brunt of the cuts. Distributors' costs held comparatively steady—including the wages of milk wagon drivers, which may or may not be adequate. And yet we all know that many urban consumers could not pay even the lowered costs for milk or purchase enough of it for their families.

SECRETARY WALLACE has said that as a piece of social machinery the E.A.A.A. is as crude as the first automobile. We may expect it to be much in the public eye and to elicit many pros and cons. We must bear in mind that its aim is fairness in the relations between rural and urban populations. What is fair in those relations is one of the most difficult and one of the most neglected problems of social ethics and of economics. Urban liberals and radicals—including Socialists—have been as recreant as farm leaders in trying to become intelligent about it, in searching for the ethical aspects involved. One of my main hopes about the E.A.A.A. is that it may make more city and farm leaders aware of the reasons for the ancient antipathy between rural and urban dwellers and make them more concerned about mutual understanding. For there are common as well as conflicting interests. Socialist governments and leaders of Socialist parties, I believe the world over, have generally demonstrated their inability to grapple with this issue. They have seldom taken the time even to inform themselves about matters agricultural. When they come into power they simply bargain with the agrar-

ians—who are frequently past masters at bargaining. Illuminating evidence of rural-urban jockeying and bargaining comes continuously from Russia.

A NEW farm credit administration has been set up and the Hoover Farm Board, which proved a fiasco, abolished. All the Federal farm credit agencies have been consolidated. Henry Morgenthau, Jr. is the governor of the administration. These agencies were more numerous than is generally realized, the Federal farm loan board supervising the Federal land banks, the intermediate credit banks, the production loan agencies of the Department of Agriculture, and the regional agricultural credit agencies of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Farm Credit Administration is also given the huge task of refinancing about a fourth of a total farm mortgage debt amounting to eight billions of dollars. It is to exchange government bonds for mortgages in case creditors and debtors can come to terms, and the Federal government will guarantee the interest but not the principal of the mortgages. A demonstration of the method has been made in Wisconsin, and it is soon to be extended to other states.

Farm leaders have been vigorous in demands for reflation. They have the natural interest of debtors in advancing prices. They also believe that price control through monetary changes offers possibilities for economic stability. Now that we have gone off the gold standard, it seems evident that not all the monetary inflationists were among the agrarians. They were also housed in Chicago and New York. The chief limitation of an inflation policy is that, like so many of the techniques of the Administration, it can of itself accomplish nothing fundamental with regard to social control or the distribution of wealth. Inflation falls, as Norman Thomas has so well reminded us, like the rain, upon the just and the unjust!

A Mother Before a Military Monument

(Reprinted from *World Affairs*).

Was it for this I braved a pathless, dark
And chilling void, in travail while the hiss
Of Death grew loud and near; from that abyss
To stumble back, enfolding in the arc
Of love-warm arms an infant life—a spark
I fanned to ruddy glow? Was it for this
I succored childish needs—healed with a kiss
Each wound that left on flesh or pride its mark?

Ah yes, for this I led my stalwart son
In paths of rectitude; abhorring vice
And choosing honor's way, he tossed the draft
That brimmed Youth's cup. Bereft and old, I run
Through War's red ledger—scan the costly price
I paid for laurel wreath and marble shaft!

WINNIE LYNCH ROCKETT



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Back of the Man With the Hoe

Edwin Markham. By William L. Stidger. Abingdon Press. \$2.50.

EDWIN MARKHAM'S long career has covered much of the history of this country, and, in the events of his boyhood, is linked with the stirring and colorful story of the opening of the West. His father and mother went in a covered wagon across the continent and, in 1847, reached Oregon City, where in 1852 Edwin Markham was born. The first chapter of Mr. Stidger's biography of the poet contains many of the stories which were told the small boy by his mother and by others who had been among the pioneers—stories of what it meant to cross the plains, where the emigrants had to reckon with the almost intolerable heat and dust of summer or the storms and blizzards of winter, the shortage of food and the lack of water, and the constant menace of the Indians. After his father's death the boy went with his mother to California, in the early days of the gold rush.

The boy Edwin Markham did not find gold in the California mines, but he did find something which afterwards turned out to be of richer value. He went to school in San José, working in a blacksmith shop to help pay his expenses, taught school in San Luis Obispo, and later went to college at Santa Rosa and to the teachers' training college at Oakland. The whole background of Californian life in the year succeeding the gold rush is made vivid in the opening pages of this book, which Mr. Stidger very wisely weaves from Edwin Markham's own written recollections.

Markham is revealed as a unique person, and in these days of much standardization, when people tend to act alike, think alike, and look alike, it is refreshing to find a man who is different. "Edwin Markham," his biographer writes, "looks like the poet he is. His utter disregard of clothes is one of his strange eccentricities of genius. The eye and the tradition are satisfied with his physical appearance. He is picturesque; not by design, but because that picturesqueness is the flower of his Western background, his genius, and his spirit."

The chief reason why Edwin Markham's life is interesting, in my opinion, and why it is well that this biography should now be made available, is that he wrote *The Man with the Hoe*. He has written much other verse, but it is for this one remarkable poem that he will be remembered. It is a work that will survive not simply as a piece of literature. Its fertilizing effect on the mind and imagination of America has been beyond measure. For in it Edwin Markham achieved that which is the supreme gift of poetic inspiration—he took a thought and a feeling, trembling, throbbing, but unawakened in the general consciousness, and lifted it into the blazing beauty of passionate expression. Numberless other people had thought in a vague way of social wrongs and of the need of correcting them. Numberless people had looked on Millet's famous painting. But when Edwin Markham

looked at that painting, something happened which had not happened before. There was a flash of the unpredictable miracle of creative genius. The idea, the longing, and the symbol of a larger meaning all flamed together into one great, authentic embodiment of truth. "I had never seen it before," he said of the picture when it was first shown to him through the form of a print copy in a magazine. "It held my soul, as one is held by some object of menace and terror. I could not get the picture of that degraded 'Hoe-Man' from my mind. It haunted me like some threat of eternal judgment. I could hear Christ crying out from that ruin of a man. I immediately jotted down in an old note book the first verse of my poem:

'Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.'

Here were the few opening words, just enough to hold the place, enough to nail fast my purpose to write a poem that should cry the lost rights of the toiling multitude in the abyss of civilization—the multitude helplessly chained to the present, fettered to their narrow field, deprived of the enlarging education of the mind, deprived of the ennobling education of the heart."

In this volume is revealed something of the inner soul of a man who has been both a poet and a prophet, and one who in his own description of the sources of his inspiration is a witness to what the Christian ideal of the Kingdom of God as found in the Gospels can create in a sensitive spirit.

W. RUSSELL BOWIE

That the Workers May Read

Brookwood Labor Pamphlets. By Katherine H. Pollak. Edited by David J. Saposs. Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y. *What a Union Did for the Coal Miners* (32 pp., 15 cents); *Important Union Methods* (32 pp., 15 cents); *How a Trade Union is Run* (48 pp., 20 cents); *Our Labor Movement Today* (112 pp., 35 cents); *Why Bother About the Government?* (30 pp., 10 cents).

THE Worker's Education Movement in the United States has been greatly handicapped for years by the lack of concise, simple pamphlet material dealing with labor and political problems. Teachers have had to use text books written in a style which was difficult for the rank and file of their classes to comprehend. In consequence, very few of our American workers have read comprehensible arguments for social change in the direction of a workers' republic.

This handicap has now been overcome. Katherine Pollak, a member of the faculty of the Brookwood Labor College and an experienced teacher of workers' classes, in this series of pamphlets has made it possible for men and women, both in trade unions

and without, who desire to understand the basic problems of the workers to secure a type of literature which is not only easily readable and instructive, but which will also motivate them to work for a new economic and political order.

Teachers of workers' classes in Unemployed Centers and in labor colleges will find the pamphlets very helpful, as will ministers and directors of religious education; the former, in acquainting the unemployed and the workers with what trade unions have been able to accomplish in the past, how they are organized, what methods they use, and what possibilities they offer for the achievement of a better world; the latter in clarifying the thinking of their church members on such issues as the necessity for labor unions, a labor party, and a militant program in behalf of social justice.

The author has discussed such controversial issues as the value of union-management coöperation, the purpose and conduct of strikes, the admittance of Negroes into the unions, unemployment and sickness insurance, the recognition of Russia, governmental ownership and operation of the principal means of production and distribution. Her point of view is that of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Conservative members of the American Federation of Labor and Communists will find themselves differing from the author sharply at certain points. Representatives of all groups in our complex society, however, will find that the pamphlets give an admirable summary in a brief compass of the principal trends in the American Labor movement.

CHARLES C. WEBBER

WE RECOMMEND

Law and the Social Order. By Morris R. Cohen. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.75. A series of stimulating and provocative essays on the relation of economics and politics to law and judicial functions. The popular notion that we are governed by a written, rigid and unchanging Constitution is exploded in an illuminating section on The Process of Judicial Legislation. This is a significant volume for all persons who are committed to orderly revolution.

The Philosophy of a Scientific Man. By Paul R. Heyl. Vanguard Press. \$1.50. Brave, forthright discussion of reason, nature, evil, the cosmic soul, and, finally, the slowly developing integration of life. Sheds thought-provoking light on pessimism and optimism with regard to nature, and suggests a forward-looking, rational view of the world of mind and matter.

Peace Year Book, 1933. National Peace Council, 39 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1, England. One shilling ninepence, postpaid. Besides the usual handy list of the various organizations in many countries which are working for world peace, this valuable annual contains a section summarizing the activities of the disarmament conference, a review by G. P. Gooch of international affairs in 1932, and other sections dealing with the Lausanne conference, the League's work in the past year, the traffic in arms, the later stages of the Sino-Japanese conflict, including the Lytton Report, and armament statistics.

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THE LAST WORD

I LOOKED at the camera in dismay. "You're right," I admitted, dolorously. "It's a German film. For that matter, it's a German camera, even if I did get it in France."

Normala seemed singularly uninventive. In fact, she helped me out of my dilemma not at all. "I don't see how you're going to use it," she said. "You have been going around for the last three weeks swearing that until Hitler bit the dust you would never buy anything German. Now you go down and bring back a German film." She spoke without rancor or complaint, as one who was accustomed to certain characteristics on my part. I could have wished that she took a little less for granted.

Absently I extracted from my carrying case a piece of fine silk paper and began to polish up the lens. "By the way," queried Normala innocently, "isn't that Japanese lens paper?" "Of course," said I. "You know it is. But what . . ." I stopped short and possibly flushed a little—at least, I used to flush once in a while, years ago. Normala struck an attitude. "The only way," she declaimed in a voice whose intonations sounded not altogether strangely to my ears, "to establish international order is to boycott all offending nations. If cowardly governments yield out of considerations of private profit, then let all citizens who place international order ahead of personal comfort, rally to the standard of, er, international order. Ever since mankind emerged from the cave . . ."

"Hold on!" I shouted, reaching for the fly swatter. "Remember that he hasn't emerged very far as yet, and under extreme provocation. . . ." I paused. Normala was pointing dramatically at the fly swatter. "Let me see it!" she demanded. And when I capitulated she turned it over and read, emphatically, "Atlanta, Georgia." I could only stare blankly, affecting a vast incomprehension. But it was useless, as I might have known. "When was it Georgia gave that Communist a long sentence just because he championed Negro labor?" "It was a rotten deal," I argued, "and you know it." "Perfectly despicable, darling."

"Well," I grumbled, finally, "let's give up the pictures." Indoors we settled down to work—work, the great healer. I was slipping into my lounging jacket preparatory to a long session at my desk, when Normala gently interposed. "I hate to bother you," she said, "but I thought you'd want me to remind you. Where did you get that jacket?" "London of course." Whereupon the kindest but most annoying of creatures merely asked, "What about Gandhi and the ordinances? Didn't you say . . ."

I slumped into my chair, rising like a shot when I recalled sharply that it was made—that beloved gift—of redwood grown and worked in California, the State that still holds Mooney in prison. "Ye gods!" I shouted, "this begins to get a bit thick. I can't use the other desk chair, which we got that summer long ago near Boston, where they killed Sacco and Vanzetti. And while we are about it we might as well chuck away that clock that we got in Switzerland, where they have been hounding pacifists. That goes also," I snarled sardonically, "for the vase from Mussolini's fascist paradise."

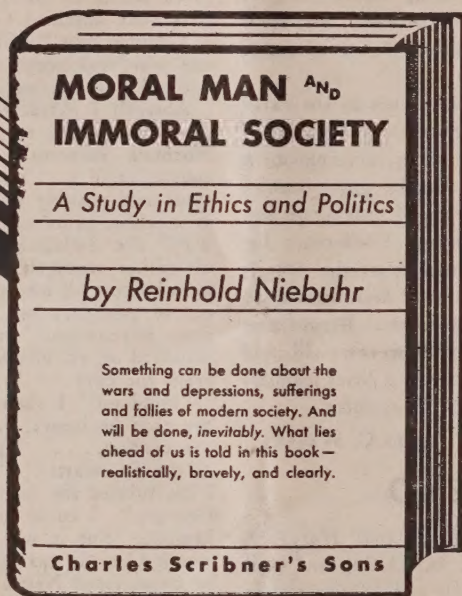
Tactfully Normala cheered me up. "Come on and have a bite to eat," she urged, "and forget your troubles for a moment."

Readily enough I assented. We got past the Irish stew, for we knew it had nothing to do with De Valera's iron rule and tariff war. "This sugar can't be Machado's now, at any rate," remarked Normala, with suspicious satisfaction. It was the last straw, however, when she asked me my opinion of Kemal Pasha as she offered me a few remaining pieces of Turkish delight. At least, I thought it was. With dignity I picked up my hat, went out in the yard, and violently kicked over the sundial with its motto, *Tempus Omnia Revelat*—Time Reveals All Things. I turned around, then, and glared at the house—just as Normala's dainty fingers placed in the bay window a red-white-and-blue sign. It read provocatively, "Buy American!"

Eccentricus

"Moral Man and Immoral Society"

by
**Reinhold
Niebuhr**



Editor
**The World
Tomorrow**

MAN as an individual, says Dr. Niebuhr, is generally idealistic—a moral character—but collectively mankind is immoral. That is one reason why the world finds itself in the situation now existing. The highest ideals which the individual may express are ideals which he can never realize in social and collective terms.

People will not want to believe the ideas presented in this book. Nobody ever wants to believe it is

necessary to have an operation. But, in the present social crisis, as in the case of an operation, he who believes in surgery

soonest has the greatest chance to survive.

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